

## Message Text

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21

ACTION EUR-12

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USMISSION GENEVA

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AMEMBASSY MADRID

AMCONSUL MUNICH

USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

USDEL MBFR VIENNA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

C O N F I D E N T I A L MOSCOW 2214

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UR, XF

SUBJECT: PRAVDA ON COMMUNIST-SOCIALIST RELATIONS IN WESTERN EUROPE

REF: MOSCOW 610 (NOTAL).

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QM BEGIN CONFIDENTIAL. SUMMARY. IN FIRST SERIOUS SOVIET COMMENTARY ON RECENT WEST EUROPEAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC CONFERENCES, A. VERNOV IN PRAVDA FEB 13 FOCUSES ON COMMUNIST-SOCIALIST RELATIONS; FAVORS UNITY OF ACTION AND CONTACTS; CRITICIZES US OPPOSITION; DEPLORES LACK OF CLARITY IN SOCIALIST CAMP; AND WARNS AGAINST EFFORTS TO USE UNITY OF ACTION TO WEAKEN COMMUNISTS OR "SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIZE" THEM. END SUMMARY. END CONFIDENTIAL

2. BEGIN UNCLASSIFIED. UNDER TITLE "TWO CONFERENCES", A. VERNOV DELIVERS FIRST SUBSTANTIAL SOVIET MEDIA RESPONSE TO RECENT MEETINGS OF WEST EUROPEAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATS AT HELSINGOR AND PARIS IN FEB 13 PRAVDA.

3. VERNOV ZEROES IN IMMEDIATELY ON ISSUE OF COMMUNIST-SOCIALIST RELATIONS. FACT IT WAS AN ISSUE, HE BEGINS, TESTIFIES TO "ENORMOUS AND GROWING ROLE OF SOCIALISM IN THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD, (TO THE) HIGH INTERNATIONAL AUTHORITY OF THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT." COMMUNIST PARTIES INCLUDING CPSU HAVE, "AS IS KNOWN," NOTED CERTAIN POSITIVE DEVELOPMENTS IN POLICIES OF A NUMBER OF SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTIES, AND CONTACTS AND LINKS HAVE BEGUN TO BE ESTABLISHED. THIS IS NOT A CHANGE FOR THE COMMUNISTS: "THEY ALWAYS WERE FOR UNITY OF ACTION IN THE INTERNATIONAL WORKERS' AND DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT."

4. THE MAIN PROBLEM NOW, VERNOV CONTINUES, IS TO PRESERVE AND CONSOLIDATE DETENTE, AND PREVENT REACTION FROM USING THE SHARPENING CRISIS OF CAPITALISM TO OVERTHROW DETENTE AND OPPOSE SOCIAL PROGRESS. AND FOR COMMUNISTS THIS MEANS SUPPORT FOR "COMMON ACTION OF ALL CURRENTS OF THE WORKERS' MOVEMENT, FOR COOPERATION AND CONTACTS WITH SOCIALISTS, WITH SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS."

5. WHAT IS INTERNATIONAL SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY'S POSITION, VERNOV ASKS. IN HELSINGOR THERE WERE "SHARP DIVERGENCES," AND THE PARTICIPANTS COULD NOT WORK OUT A COMMON POSITION. THE OPPONENTS OF COOPERATION WITH THE COMMUNISTS USED NATO OBLIGATIONS AS ONE OF THEIR  
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MAIN ARGUMENTS, AND THE U.S. ALSO EXERTED PRESSURE THROUGH ITS WEST EUROPEAN AMBASSADORS AND THE "PURE COINCIDENCE" OF SECRETARY'S COPENHAGEN MEETING. THOSE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC LEADERS WHO PUT NATO BEFORE THE WORKING CLASS ARE IN CLEAR CONTRADICTION WITH THE BASIC TASK OF OUR TIMES, WRITES VERNOV, WHICH IS CONSOLIDATING DEMOCRATIC FORCES AGAINST THE ACTIVATING RIGHT IN CONDITIONS OF CAPITALIST CRISIS. ANTICOMMUNISM NOT

ONLY CLOSES THE PATH TO COOPERATION OF "SOCIALLY CLOSE, RELATED SOCIAL FORCES" BUT IS FRAUGHT WITH "NEW SHARPENINGS OF INTERNATIONAL TENSION."

6. THE PARIS MEETING WAS NOT MUCH BETTER, ACCORDING TO VERNOV. THE WESTERN PRESS REPORTED SOME DISSATISFACTION WITH "U.S. DEMANDS AND SIMPLE INTERFERENCE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF WEST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES, AND CLAUDE ESTE (PHON) OF THE PSF ELOQUENTLY PROMOTED A NEW STRATEGY OF MAKING EUROPE INDEPENDENT OF THE U.S. ON THE BASIS OF SOCIAL PROGRESS WHICH ASSUMES UNITY OF WORKERS' AND NATIONAL FORCES. BUT NOT ALL REPRESENTATIVES AGREED, AND NO COMMON APPROACH WAS WORKED OUT.

7. THE STRENGTHENING OF TENDENCIES TOWARD UNITY AMONG SOCIALISTS "HAS SIGNIFICANCE," VERNOV THINKS, BUT THE BOURGEOIS PRESS IS ALSO REPORTING THAT SOME VERY DOUBTFUL MOTIVES ARE INVOLVED, "INCLUDING THE POSSIBILITY OF USING THIS MEANS EITHER FOR WEAKENING THE COMMUNISTS' POLITICAL POSITION OR FOR IDEOLOGICAL 'SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIZATION' OF COMMUNIST PARTIES." IN PARTICULAR, SOME RIGHT SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS ARE PROMOTING USE OF "ELECTORAL CONTACTS" WITH "INDIVIDUAL COMMUNIST PARTIES" FOR STRUGGLE AGAINST THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT AS A WHOLE. "NATURALLY, SUCH PLANS HAVE NOTHING IN COMMON WITH THE GOAL OF BASIC UNITY OF ACTION WHICH IS REQUIRED BY THE WORKERS' MOVEMENT, BY THE BROAD DEMOCRATIC MASSES. SUCH AN APPROACH, WHICH IS BASICALLY SCHISMATIC. . . UNAVOIDABLY MEETS A REBUFF FROM THE MARXIST-LENINIST PARTIES." END UNCLASSIFIED.

8. BEGIN CONFIDENTIAL. COMMENT. VERNOV READS A CONFIDENTIAL

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LITTLE LIKE ZARODOV TRYING HARD TO SMILE, IF ONE BELIEVES THAT THE REAL POINT OF ZARODOV'S FAMOUS ARTICLE IN PRAVDA AUG 6 WAS TO PREVENT WEST EUROPEAN COMMUNISTS FROM BEING SWALLOWED IN THE (APPROVED) UNITED FRONTS, RATHER THAN TO UNLEASH THEM AGAINST TOTTERING CAPITALIST STATES. ZARODOV'S SORTIE AGAINST ARITHMETIC MAJORITIES AND HIS STRESS ON THE NECESSARY LEADERSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT'S PARTY ARE ABSENT, BUT HIS WARINESS OVER WHAT UNITED FRONTS CAN DO TO COMMUNISTS REAPPEARS SHARP AND CLEAR IN VERNOV'S CONCLUSION (PARA 7 ABOVE). IF ONLY BY IMPLICATION, THEREFORE, THE LESSON IS THE SAME AS ZARODOV'S: COALITION SI, SUBMERSION NON. ON THE CAPITALIST CRISIS, VERNOV TAKES THE SAME AMBIGUOUS STANCE WHICH MARKED KORTUNOV'S MORE AUTHORITATIVE

ARTICLE IN KRASNAYA ZVEZDA JAN 14 (MOSCOW 610):  
DANGEROUS, THOUGH NOT NECESSARILY MORTAL. ASSUMING KORTUNOV  
IS IN FACT A PODGORNYY AIDE, THIS  
WOULD TEND TO SITUATE BOTH VERNOV AND ZARODOV IN THE  
BAND OF THE SOVIET POLITICAL SPECTRUM WHICH IS  
CAUTIOUS ABOUT DETENTE, AND TO EXTEND THIS CAUTION  
TO COMMUNIST-SOCIALIST COOPERATION IN  
WESTERN EUROPE.  
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